

DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

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25X1

28 March 1968

25X1

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## **CONTENTS**

25X1

Panama: Opposition Delvalle "government" fails to marshall widespread public support. (Page 3)

Poland: An uneasy calm prevails among the students, while intraparty maneuvering intensifies. (Page 4)

Czechoslovakia - Eastern Europe: Developments in Prague are being criticized, especially by Pankow. (Page 5)

Indonesia: President Suharto (Page 7)

Next 2 Page(s) In Document Exempt

\*Panama: The opposition camp appears to be in a state of confusion following ineffective efforts to marshall widespread support for the Delvalle "government,"

Thus far, National Union (NU) supporters have been unable to arouse public fervor for scheduled demonstrations, and attempts to promote a nationwide general strike have faltered.

In a televised speech yesterday, "President" Delvalle castigated the National Guard for "unjustified acts of violence" and urged Panamanians to support his endeavors to ensure free and just elections. Delvalle stated that he would "redouble" efforts to convene a special session of the National Assembly and to revise the electoral code, but he did not mention any specific plans to confront the Guard again.

In view of the strong military backing of the Robles government, NU leaders would appear to have little alternative but to await a Supreme Court ruling on the legality of Robles' impeachment after the judicial body reconvenes next Monday.

Poland: An uneasy calm prevails among the students, while intraparty maneuvering appears to be intensifying.

Hard-line party elements are sustaining the tension with a continuing barrage of anti-Jewish and anti-intellectual propaganda. More than a score of scapegoats for the recent unrest, mostly university professors, some of them Jews, have been fired. Additional ousters of liberal academicians probably will inflame militant students, who are dissatisfied with the regime's response to their grievances. Some students reportedly plan to protest the academic dismissals at a rally today.

A conference in Warsaw of provincial party first secretaries on 26 March is evidence of the continuous activity at the top reaches of the party. The meeting may signal the imminence of a reported central committee plenum.

Gomulka's position within the party politburo is secure at the moment, although his ability to maneuver contending forces within the party central committee is less sure. He may no longer be in sole charge of policymaking.

Changes in the top leadership probably will result from the events of the past month. They may, however, be put off until the party congress near the end of the year, provided there is no renewal of public violence.

Czechoslovakia - Eastern Europe: A number of Czechoslovakia's allies, led by East Germany, have criticized developments in Prague.

In a bitter attack on 26 March, East German politburo member Kurt Hager publicly assailed Czechoslovak "renewers" and "modern Marxist revisionists." He also directly attacked Josef Smrkovsky, a leading proponent of "democratization."

The East Germans are attempting to influence internal changes in Czechoslovakia and to slow down any revamping of Czechoslovak foreign policy. Hager's attack suggests that Dubcek was unable at the Dresden meeting last weekend to allay Pankow's fear that Prague will pay less attention to its interests. Hager drew an explicit connection between the "attitude assumed by Smrkovsky and others" with alleged attempts by West Germany to "isolate" East Germany from its Communist neighbors.

Czechoslovakia has protested both to the East German ambassador and, in an unprecedented move, to the East Germany party leadership in Pankow. Numerous Czechoslovak organizations had already rejected foreign criticism. The exchange undoubtedly will lead to a further deterioration of Czechoslovak - East German relations.

For the second time in a week, the Hungarian party endorsed Czechoslovak developments, but also expressed concern. Zoltan Komoscin, the leading ideologist of the Hungarian party, emphasized a parallel between the situation in Hungary in 1956 and that in Czechoslovakia now. He warned that the Czech party must overcome the "anarchistic endeavors" of both the "conservative forces" within the party and the "nationalist, rightist forces" which idealize the "bourgeois republic" of the pre - World War II era.

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28 Mar 68

In what amounts to an indirect reply to foreign criticism, Dubcek remarked on the Dresden meeting in a 26 March interview. He noted that there had been "considerable interest" about Czechoslovakia, with concern expressed lest "antisocialist" elements participate in the democratization process. He said that 'all our friends''--rather than all participants--wished Czechoslovakia "success" and endorsed fully what has been done. Dubcek's remarks suggest that Prague intends to continue its reforms.

## NOTE

Indonesia: The Indonesian Congress yesterday unanimously appointed Suharto full president for five years, but called for congressional elections in three years instead of a five-year postponement. It also placed some limitations on the emergency powers granted Suharto two years ago. The compromise package, in which the army-dominated government yielded on some of its demands to the civilian-dominated Congress, should temporarily appease those elements who have been concerned over the army's predominance.

25X1

28 Mar 68

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